

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 199068 TOSEC 090017  
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY IO/UNP: RLBARR;;ST  
APPROVED BY ACTING SECRETARY  
AF - MR. EDMONDSON  
IO - MR. MAYNES  
S/S:DANDERSON

-----121495 202249Z /65  
O 202226Z AUG 77 ZFF6  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USDEL SECRETARY AIRCRAFT IMMEDIATE  
USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE  
INFO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 199068 TOSEC 090017

NODIS  
CHEROKEE FOR THE SECRETARY FROM THE ACTING SECRETARY

E.O. 11652:XGDS-3

TAGS: PARM, SF

SUBJECT: ALTERNATE CONTINGENCY STATEMENTS ON SOUTH  
AFRICAN NUCLEAR PROGRAM FOR LAGOS CONFERENCE

REF: STATE 199063

1. IN ADDITION TO THE CONTINGENCY STATEMENT BASED ON  
THE ASSUMPTION THAT WE WILL HAVE NO FINAL ANSWER FROM  
THE SAG BEFORE ANDY HAS TO ADDRESS THE SUBJECT OF THEIR  
NUCLEAR PLANS AT LAGOS, WE HAVE PREPARED FOR THREE  
OTHER CONTINGENCIES. THE FIRST IS THAT THE SOUTH  
AFRICAN RESPONSE WILL BE CLEARLY UNSATISFACTORY, THE  
SECOND IS THAT THEIR LAST WORD WILL SATISFY US ON SOME  
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POINTS BUT NOT ON OTHERS. THE THIRD IS THAT SOUTH  
AFRICAN RESPONSE IS WHOLLY SATISFACTORY.

2. IN ANY OF THESE CASES, WE BELIEVE THE DRAFT SENT  
BY REFTEL WOULD STAND WITH MINOR GRAMMATICAL CHANGES  
THROUGH PARAGRAPH 8 WHERE WE DISCUSS THE SOUTH AFRICAN  
RESPONSE. WHAT FOLLOWS ARE THREE ALTERNATIVE SUBSTITUTIONS

FOR THE LAST SECTION OF THE STATEMENT (PARAS 8 THROUGH 11 OF REFTTEL) WHICH WOULD BE USED DEPENDING ON SOUTH AFRICAN RESPONSE.

3. CONTINGENCY A: SOUTH AFRICAN RESPONSE COMPLETELY UNSATISFACTORY: BEGIN TEXT: I REGRET TO INFORM YOU THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS REFUSED TO GIVE US THE ASSURANCES THAT WE HAVE REQUESTED, STANDING ON ITS PREVIOUS POSITION THAT NUCLEAR ENERGY IN SOUTH AFRICA WILL BE USED FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES ONLY. GIVEN THE SITUATION I HAVE DESCRIBED, THIS GREATLY HEIGHTENS OUR CONCERN THAT SOUTH AFRICA COULD BE PREPARING TO TEST A NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE.

- WE ARE GRAVELY DISTURBED AT THE COURSE IT APPEARS THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS PURSUING. IF THEY PERSIST, IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO MAINTAIN ANY KIND OF CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND WE WILL JOIN WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO TAKE STEPS TO DETER SOUTH AFRICA FROM BECOMING A NUCLEAR POWER.

- I WISH TO ANNOUNCE TODAY THAT WE ARE ENDING IMMEDIATELY ALL FORMS OF NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND WILL NOT RESTORE ANY FORM OF SUCH COOPERATION UNTIL SOUTH AFRICA PLACES ALL ITS NUCLEAR FACILITIES UNDER INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS AND AGREES TO  
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PAGE 03 STATE 199068 TOSEC 090017

ADHERE TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY.

- WE ARE CONSULTING ON THE POSSIBILITY OF AN EMERGENCY SESSION OF NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS TO DISCUSS ACTIONS WHICH THEY MIGHT WISH TO TAKE IN CONCERT.

- (WE BELIEVE AN URGENT MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS NEEDED IN ORDER TO DISCUSS THE IMPLICATIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S ACTIONS.)

- SOUTH AFRICA HAS AN ALTERNATIVE TO DEFIANCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND REFUSAL TO RESOLVE QUESTIONS ABOUT ITS NUCLEAR PLANS. IT CAN TAKE THE FAR MORE PROMISING PATH OPEN TO IT: PROMPT ADHERENCE TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY; RAPID PROGRESS IN THE NAMIBIA AND RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS; AND AN END TO THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID. THIS WOULD MARK A DECISIVE TURNING POINT IN SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS WITH US AND THE WORLD.

IT IS THIS OUTCOME THAT WE PRAY FOR. END TEXT.

4. CONTINGENCY B: PARTIALLY SATISFACTORY SOUTH AFRICAN

RESPONSE. BEGIN TEXT: TO DATE, THE SOUTH AFRICAN  
RESPONSE HAS BEEN ONLY PARTIALLY SATISFACTORY. THEY

HAVE ASSURED US THAT (BLANK), AND (BLANK), BUT NOT  
ON (BLANK). WE ARE URGENTLY CONTINUING OUR DISCUSSIONS  
IN HOPES THAT THEIR POSITION WILL CHANGE. WE ARE ALSO  
MONITORING THEIR ACTIVITIES CLOSELY IN ORDER TO OBTAIN  
A CLEARER IDEA OF THEIR INTENTIONS. WE HAVE MADE IT  
CLEAR THAT FAILURE OF SOUTH AFRICA TO PROVIDE THE  
NECESSARY ASSURANCES OR ANY VIOLATION OF ASSURANCES  
ONCE GIVEN WOULD HAVE EXTREMELY GRAVE CONSEQUENCES  
BOTH IN TERMS OF U.S. - SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS AND  
SOUTH AFRICAN TIES WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD.

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PAGE 04 STATE 199068 TOSEC 090017

- IF WE DO NOT RECEIVE THE REQUIRED ASSURANCES IN  
THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, WE WILL HAVE TO EMBARK ON A  
NUMBER OF STEPS.

- WE WILL IMMEDIATELY SUSPEND ALL NUCLEAR COOPERATION  
WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

- WE WILL CONSULT URGENTLY WITH OTHER NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS  
ON STEPS WHICH MIGHT BE TAKEN IN CONCERT.

- (WE WOULD JOIN OTHERS IN A CALL FOR A SECURITY  
COUNCIL DISCUSSION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR  
SITUATION.)

- SOUTH AFRICA NOW HAS A SERIOUS CHOICE TO MAKE.  
IT CAN CHOOSE TO DEFY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY  
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THIS WOULD MARK A DECISIVE TURNING POINT IN SOUTH  
AFRICA'S RELATIONS WITH US AND THE WORLD.

- THIS IS THE OUTCOME WE PRAY FOR. END TEXT.

5. CONTINGENCY C: SOUTH AFRICAN RESPONSE COMPLETELY  
SATISFACTORY. BEGIN TEXT: I AM PLEASED TO BE ABLE  
TO REPORT THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS GIVEN  
US THE ASSURANCES WE REQUESTED. THEY HAVE ALSO  
INDICATED THEIR INTENTION TO RECONSIDER ADHERING  
TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY AND PLACING ALL THEIR  
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PAGE 05 STATE 199068 TOSEC 090017

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6. ACTION REQUESTED:

APPROVAL OF CONTINGENCY A, INCLUDING BRACKETED PARAGRAPH.

APPROVAL OF CONTINGENCY B, INCLUDING BRACKETED PARAGRAPH.

APPROVAL OF CONTINGENCY C.

CHRISTOPHER

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PAGE 01 STATE 199068  
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

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DRAFTED BY S/S:DANDERSON  
APPROVED BY S/S:DANDERSON

-----003839 221735Z /44

O 221706Z AUG 77 ZFF4  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 199068

NODIS  
CHEROKEE ONLY FOR AMB LEONARD

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 199068 (TOSEC 090017) ACTION SECRETARY  
INFO WHITE HOUSE AUG 20.

QUOTE  
S E C R E T STATE 199068 TOSEC 090017

NODIS  
CHEROKEE FOR THE SECRETARY FROM THE ACTING SECRETARY

E.O. 11652:XGDS-3

TAGS: PARM, SF

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REF: STATE 199063

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PAGE 02 STATE 199068

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CHRISTOPHER UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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PAGE 01 STATE 199068  
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011  
DRAFTED BY UNA:BJSHARP  
APPROVED BY UNA:AFHOLLOWAY  
S/S:DANDERSON

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O 222240Z AUG 77 ZFF4  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 199068

NODIS  
CHEROKEE FOR AMBASSADOR LEONARD

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 199068 ACTION USUN NEW YORK 22 AUG 77

QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 199068



NODIS  
CHEROKEE ONLY FOR AMB LEONARD

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 199068 (TOSEC 090017) ACTION SECRETARY  
INFO WHITE HOUSE AUG 20.

QUOTE  
S E C R E T STATE 199068 TOSEC 090017

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- THIS IS THE OUTCOME WE PRAY FOR. END TEXT.

5. CONTINGENCY C: SOUTH AFRICAN RESPONSE COMPLETELY SATISFACTORY. BEGIN TEXT: I AM PLEASED TO BE ABLE TO REPORT THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS GIVEN US THE ASSURANCES WE REQUESTED. THEY HAVE ALSO INDICATED THEIR INTENTION TO RECONSIDER ADHERING TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY AND PLACING ALL THEIR NUCLEAR FACILITIES UNDER FULL INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS. WE WILL, OF COURSE, CONTINUE TO MONITOR SOUTH AFRICAN ACTIVITIES CLOSELY. ONLY THE COMMITMENTS EMBODIED IN

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APPROVAL OF CONTINGENCY A, INCLUDING BRACKETED PARAGRAPH.

APPROVAL OF CONTINGENCY B, INCLUDING BRACKETED PARAGRAPH.  
SECRET

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APPROVAL OF CONTINGENCY C.

CHRISTOPHER UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER".

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** TOSEC, NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, NUCLEAR TESTS, NUCLEAR SAFEGUARDS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, CAT-B, CHEROKEE 08/20/77  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
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**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977STATE199068  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** RLBARR;:ST  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X3  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** P840072-1184  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770840/aaaabhjx.tel  
**Line Count:** 626  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** fdb18457-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN NODS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
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**Page Count:** 12  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Reference:** 77 STATE 199063  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:** ANOMALY  
**Review Date:** 07-Oct-2004 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 1537630  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** ALTERNATE CONTINGENCY STATEMENTS ON SOUTH AFRICAL NUCLEAR PROGRAM FOR LAGOS CONFERENCE  
**TAGS:** PARM, MNUC, PDIP, SF, US  
**To:** SECRETARY AIRCRAFT WHITE HOUSE MULTIPLE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/fdb18457-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
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**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009